

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-04

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SS-20 SSO-00 ISO-00 PRS-01 EUR-25

NSC-07 NSCE-00 ACDA-19 PM-07 DODE-00 EB-11 NEA-10

USIE-00 /106 R

DRAFTED BY PA:CPRENTICE:DS/LM

APPROVED BY PA:CPRENTICE

S/S-O: P.SARROS

S/S: W.LUERS

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

PA, S/S, S/PRS, EUR, PA/PG

----- 096172

O 262306Z MAR 74 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 060589

TOSEC 73

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY OSWALD JOHNSTON APPEARED ON FRONT-PAGE OF MARCH 26, 1974 WASHINGTON STAR-NEWS:

2. THERE HAVE BEEN AT LEAST FIVE PERIODS OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE SINCE THE BOLSHEVIK SEIZURE OF POWER, ONE IN EACH DECADE OF THE SOVIET STATE. EACH WAS HAILED IN THE WEST AS USHERING IN A NEW ERA OF RECONCILIATION AND AS SIGNIFYING THE LONG AWAITED FINAL CHANGE IN SOVIET PURPOSES.

3. EACH ENDED ABRUPTLY WITH A NEW PERIOD OF INTRANSIGENCE, WHICH WAS GENERALLY ASCRIBED TO A VICTORY OF SOVIET HARD-LINERS RATHER THAN TO THE DYNAMICS OF THE SYSTEM. --  
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HENRY A. KISSINGER, 1968.

4. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER'S SCEN?-  
SETTING MISSION TO PREPARE THE THIRD NIXON-BREZHNEV SUMMIT,

NOW ENTERING ITS SECOND DAY OF TALKS IN MOSCOW, IS SURROUNDED WITH THE DIPLOMATIC TRAPPINGS OF GREAT EVENTS IN THE MAKING AND MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS WITHIN REACH. BUT THE SIGNS ARE ABUNDANT THAT THE CURRENT STAGE OF U.S. SOVIET DETENTE IS REACHING THE END OF A PHASE AND THAT THE CURRENT "ERA

OF RECONCILIATION" IS NEARING A NATURAL CLOSE.

5. KISSINGER MADE HIS ANALYSIS OF PAST U.S.-SOVIET MISUNDERSTANDING IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND HE WROTE AS AN OUTSIDE OBSERVER OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY URGING A NEW ADMINISTRATION TO RECOGNIZE NEW POWER BALANCES IN THE WORLD AND DEVELOP NEW STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH EUROPE, JAPAN, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA.

6. NEARLY SIX YEARS LATER, ON HIS SIXTH OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION AS ARCHITECT OF NIXON ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY, KISSINGER HAS SUCCESSFULLY PUT IN TRAIN WHAT OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN THE BASIC UNDERPINNINGS OF A NEW ERA IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS: AN OPENING TO CHINA, A REWORKING OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE; A NEW MOMENTUM TOWARD FREE EAST-WEST TRADE; AN UNPRECEDENTED SUPERPOWER AGREEMENT TO LIMIT NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

7. THROUGH IT ALL, KISSINGER BUILT UP A REPUTATION AS A NEGOTIATING "MAGICIAN" WHO TIRELESSLY PROBED HIS ADVERSY TO DEFINE THE LIMITS OF HIS ASPIRATIONS AND THEN, ON THE COMMON GROUND THUS REVEALED, MANAGED TO ERECT COMMON AGREEMENT THAT BOTH COULD ACCEPT BECAUSE BOTH NEEDED IT.

8. BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, THAT COMMON GROUND HAS IN RECENT STATEMENTS BY KISSINGER BEEN DEFINED AS THOUGH IT HAD ALREADY DWINDLED TO AN IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM: SURVIVAL "OUR ATTEMPT WILL BE TO WORK OUT WITH THE SOVIET UNION THE MODERATE COURSE IN FOREIGN POLICY ON WHICH PEACE IN THE WORLD DEPENDS, AND UNCLASSIFIED

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PERHAPS THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANITY WILL DEPEND," KISSINGER SAID IN HIS MOST RECENT NEWS CONFERENCE BEFORE LEAVING FOR MOSCOW.

9. HE ADDED, IN CHARACTERISTIC UNDERSTATEMENT: "I AGREE WE ARE GOING THERE AT A MORE DIFFICULT PERIOD THAN AT SOME PREVIOUS VISITS..." A MORE COMPLEX ARRAY OF FORCES IS AT WORK ON THIS LATEST PERIOD OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, ONE WHICH EMPHASIZES THE "DYNAMICS OF THE SYSTEM" RATHER THAN ANY SIMPLE POLITICAL DIVISION WITHIN THE POLITBURO.

10. EVEN AS HE SPOKE THURSDAY, THERE WAS AMPLE EVIDENCE OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE COMMON GROUND OF AGREEMENT HAD

ERODED SINCE THE PALMIER DAYS OF MAY, 1972, WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON, SHEPHERDED BY KISSINGER, CONCLUDED A SERIES

OF DETENTE ACCORDS IN MOSCOW CLIMAXING IN THE SALT I AGREEMENT TO FREEZE OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS AND PHASE OUT THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE.

11. THE EROSION HAD BEEN OBVIOUS SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WHEN COMPETING GREAT POWER INTERESTS IN THE REGION ALMOST LED TO A DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION. SOVIET PROPAGANDA EVER SINCE HAS BLATANTLY OPPOSED KISSINGER'S MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY, URGING THE ARAB OIL STATES TO CONTINUE THEIR EMBARGO, AND EVEN, IN RECENT BROADCASTS CRITICIZING KISSINGER BY NAME.

12. DURING THE SAME PERIOD, NIXON'S DOMESTIC SUPPORT HAS WEAKENED SO DRAMATICALLY AS A RESULT OF WATERGATE AND ATTENDANT ADMINISTRATION SCANDALS THAT THE IMPENDING IMPEACHMENT PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HIM ARE BEING OPENLY DISCUSSED AS A FACTOR IN THE SCHEDULED JUNE SUMMIT IN MOSCOW AND IN THE FUTURE OF DETENTE.

13. ANATOLIY DOBRYNIN, THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON, ONLY LAST WEEK RETURNED HERE AFTER AN EXTENDED VACATION AND VISIT HOME FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE KREMLIN LEADERSHIP. HERE AGAIN, THE PROBABLY FATE OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS PRESUMED TO HAVE BEEN A KEY TOPIC.

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14. DOBRYNIN, WITH A REPUTATION AS AN ACUTE OBSERVER OF AMERICAN POLITICS, CAN HARDLY FAIL TO HAVE WARNED THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP THAT THE WEAKENED PRESIDENCY IS FACED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WITH A SIZEABLE POTENTIAL CONGRESSIONAL COALITION OPPOSED TO THE NIXON-KISSINGER VIEW OF DETENTE.

15. THE PROSPECT OF A FUTURE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HEADED BY SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON (D-WASH), A LEGENDARY COLD WARRIOR IN THE SOVIET VIEW OF AMERICAN POLITICS, HAS BEEN A RECURRENT FEAR IN MOSCOW. BUT THE MORE LIKELY FEAR AT PRESENT IS THAT THE ATTITUDE JACKSON SYMBOLIZES WILL CRYSTLIZE INTO A REAL POLITICAL FORCE DURING THE REMAINING TIME LEFT TO A NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

16. THE ANTI-DETENTE COALITION, IF IT FORMS, WOULD REFLECT ATTITUDES OR REACTIONS TO SOME OF THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE U.S.-SOVIET RECONCILIATION--ELEMENTS WHICH KISSINGER HAS MANAGED SUCCESSFULLY UP TO NOW, BUT WHICH HE CLEARLY BELIEVES MUST BE STRENGTHENED IF DETENTE IS TO SURVIVE THE CURRENT PHASE. THESE ARE:

17. SALT. KISSINGER IS OPTIMISTICALLY PREDICTING A  
"CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHROUGH" THAT COULD LEAD TO A NEW  
STRATEGIC ARMS TREATY WITHIN THE YEAR. KNOWLEDGEABLE  
SOURCES CLOSE TO THE U.S. NEGOTIATING EFFORT AGREE THAT  
THIS WILL MOSTLY AMOUNT TO A DECISION TO LIMIT THE  
SCOPE OF SALT II TO A FORMULA OF NUMERICAL "EQUALITY"  
BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS INSTEAD OF THE  
MORE AMBITIOUS CONTROL ON "QUALITY" ONCE

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 15 APR 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 26 MAR 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974STATE060589  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** PA:CPRENTICE:DS/LM  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740380/dclldcaaa.tel  
**Line Count:** 170  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** garlanwa  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 01 APR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <01 APR 2002 by hagers>; APPROVED <11 DEC 2002 by garlanwa>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 19990419  
**Subject:** PRESS MATERIAL  
**TAGS:** OVIP (KISSINGER)  
**To:** MOSCOW  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005